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Antoninianus of Victorinus
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The Later Coins of Corinth

ARTHUR C. BENNET

Almost everyone who has an acquaintance with classical Greek coins is familiar with the famous flying horse which signified the great city of Corinth or one of her numerous colonies in the Western Mediterranean. This article concerns the city founded by Julius Caesar on the site of the once famous Greek city and named modestly, *Colonia Laus Iulius Corinthius.*

The year 146 BC saw not just the final destruction of Carthage but also the razing of the Greek city of Corinth. Historians are divided as to the reason for the Roman destruction of the town. Some hold that Corinth still represented an economic rivalry which certain influential classes in Rome were anxious to see suppressed. Others argue that the destruction of Corinth was intended as an object lesson to the restless Greeks as the penalty of too long or harsh defiance of Roman power. Perhaps the rabid insanity that led to *Carthago Delenda Est* also turned its fury on the city which an anonymous classical author had described as the most beautiful in all Greece. For whatever reason, the fact remains that in 146 BC, the once great city came to an end.

Rome had long had a policy of establishing colonies. Unlike Greek foundations which severed all relations with the mother city, Roman colonies consisted of people who retained their Roman citizenship, always a privileged position in an area where the colony was located. The highest position any provincial city could obtain would be that of *colonia* where the rights possessed were essentially those of Rome itself.

The vast armies which were raised by the various contenders for power in the first century BC had to be settled back into civilian life, hence even before Caesar the idea of the essentially military colony was being developed. Such a colony served more than a single purpose. It could be settled in areas where a trained military reserve could be counted on to keep order. It provided land and retirement possibilities for the satisfaction of veterans of the Roman armies. It provided an island of Roman culture in an essentially non-Roman area, and the importance of the colonies in bringing about a Latinization of the Mediterranean world cannot be underestimated.

There can be no doubt that Caesar's foundation of colonies at Corinth and Carthage was intended to be symbolic. The

foundations occurred a century after the destruction of the cities by Roman arms. If Rome meted out punishment to her enemies, she was kind to her friends—if she had destroyed life in war, she also gave life in peace. Caesar did, of course, found several colonies, and this practice was followed by Augustus and later emperors. It was upon Corinth, however, that the first settlement was made, and it is the coins of this colony which will be briefly surveyed.

The coins of Corinth are well published. Excavations have been somewhat continous on the site for many years and even before the excavations the coins of Corinth were sufficiently numerous and well known that the *British Museum Catalogue* although published in 1889, is fairly complete. The bibliography appended to this article is therefore a very select listing of sources. Additional bibliography is available in any of the works cited.

The coins of Corinth fall into two distinct chronological categories. The first is that between the founding of the colony and the accession of Vespasian in 69 A.D. The second is from the reign of Domitian until the cessation of coinage about the time of the death of Caracalla. The first group of coins are signed by the chief magistrates of the colony, the duoviri. Except in years when the emperor was given the honorary title of duovir and his place taken by a special praefectus who discharged the duties of duovir in his name, the names of the annual magistrates of Corinth appear on the coins.

The coinage following that of the first period resembles the ordinary colonial coinages of all such Roman foundations.

There are no coins known for Vespasian or Titus. For some reason, not known to us, the city evidently did not coin after the death of Galba until the time of Domitian. There is some justification for the theory that Corinth was deprived of coinage rights by Vespasian and that these rights were restored by Domitian. The coins themselves bear the title *Flavia* as part of the city ethnic when the coinage is later restored.

The coins, with the exception of a small series of autonomous issues, bear the portrait of the emperor and his titles on the obverse. The reverse bears its distinctive type and the city ethnic, usually some abbreviation of *Colonia Laus Iulius Corinthius* such as COL L I COR, C L I COR or CLIC. All inscriptions are in Latin.

The types, strangely enough, are Greek in their nature. Many of them bear a distinct relation to Greek myths and

legends surrounding Corinth. Others personify the old patron deities of the city. Thus we find Pegasus as a constantly recurring type, along with Bellerophon and the Chimera. Poseidon is prominent as is Melicertes. The personification of Isthmos is also frequent. Although there are occasions when the "genius" of the city, a distinctly Roman personification, appears on the coin, the more usual representation of the town is the turreted Tyche of the city, a strictly Hellenic representation.

Corinth's coinage is rich and varied from the time of its foundation down to the end of coinage c. 217 A.D. In addition to the deities and personfications, many statues and architectural types, particularly of temples, are found. With the exception of the hiatus under the early Flavians there are few years in which the city does not coin.

As to why the coinage ceased so abruptly after the time of Caracalla, we are not free to speculate. It was assumed earlier that the importance of Corinth as an economic center had so diminished that there was no longer a necessity that she coin. As Bellinger has pointed out in his analysis of the coins of Alexandria Troas, the economic conditions of the city are not the sole criteria of the coinage output, hence there seems little justification in the hypothesis that Corinth declined in the third century. Literary and epigraphic evidence indicate that the city remained prosperous and was, during the 4th century the scene of considerable activity. As a coining city, Corinth ceases in about 217 A.D. The colony itself endured until it was sacked in 395 A.D. by Alaric.

SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The intent here is only to open the door to many works available on the subject. A complete bibliography would be imposing and confusing. A student who wishes to delve deeply into the Corinthian coinage may easily be led from the works here cited to much of what else is in print.

Edwards, Katharine, *Corinth - Results of the Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. VI, *The Coins*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1933.

This is a catalog of the hoards and surface finds of all coins unearthed to date by the excavators at Corinth. Suffice it to say that this catalog not only is relatively complete on Corinthian issues but also is indicative of what kind of coins circulated in the city after coinage there ceased. The excavations at Corinth began in 1889 and except for occasional

periods of interruption have been continuous. Much remains to be done. This catalog is out of print but still not to difficult to obtain.

Bellinger, Alfred R., *Coins Found at Corinth 1925.* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1930.

This catalog comes close to being a duplication of the Edwards work, although with fewer coins outside of the Corinthian issues. It is fairly complete and of course has many of the incisive observations of Mr. Bellinger. It also is out of print, but still obtainable without a great deal of difficulty.

Head, Barclay V., *Catalogue of Greek Coins: Corinth,* London, British Museum 1889. Reprinted Bologna 1963.

The *BMC* needs little introduction and with the reprinting is available at a cost of $25.00. The corpus is fairly complete and much of the introductory material is still current. A recommended book for an interested student who must have one source suffice him.

Imhoof Blumer F. and Gardner, P., "A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 1885, 1886 and 1887., Reprinted under the title *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art,* Chicago, 1964.

The authors of this work relate its importance to Corinth in their commentary, "There is no other Greek city whereof the coins give us so extensive information on the subject of temples and statues, legends and cults."

This book is in print and available for $10.00 It is of particular value to scholars of classical times as well as thereafter. Many of the classical works of art located in Corinth evidently escaped, or perhaps were deliberately spared, in the destruction of the city in 146 BC. The colonists were proud of this heritage of great temples and sculpture and there is almost a one to one relationship between the various coin types of the city and the works described by Pausanias. Since these works did not survive the depredations of the Goths in 395, their only remains are on the coins.

Finally both the Edwards and Bellinger catalogs contain ample bibliographic citations which will lead the student into the full depth of the subject. Since these works might be difficult to obtain, the *Select Numismatic Bibliography* of Elvira E. Clain-Stefanelli is in print and available at $12.50. While this book is often difficult to work with due to its scattered and uncorrelated citations it nevertheless has many valuable references on Corinth for those who wish to pursue the subject.

The Aes Quadrans of Caligula

Michael R. Curry

The subject of this short paper is the history surrounding the *aes* quadrans of Caligula. The obverse features a pileus (liberty cap) between the letters S.C. and with the legend C. CAESAR DIVI. AUG. PRON. AUG. The reverse bears the letters R C C surrounded by the legend PON M TRP IIII PP COS TERT.

The letters R C C stand for "remissa ducentesima" which translated freely means, the removal of the one percent tax. The tax to which this legend refers is the "centesima rerum venalium" and consisted of a one percent tax on all articles sold at auction. It was a purely Italian tax, instituted by Augustus to maintain the "aerarium militare" which he set up in AD 6[1]. This military treasury was set up to insure that there were always sufficient funds for the upkeep of the army and the pensioning off of veterans. Prior to this Augustus had paid the retirement costs of his soldiers himself. The management of the treasury was entrusted to three "praefectii aeraii militaris."

The tax appears to have remained the same until the year AD 17, when Tiberius reduced it to ½%[2]. The circumstances surrounding its reduction are interesting so I mention them here for the reader's interest. Tacitus states that Tiberius, during his stay at Rhodes, was slighted by King Archelaus of Cappadocia. On becoming emperor he forced Archelaus' mother to write to her son luring him to Rome, where he was prosecuted before the senate. The old king was soon worn out by Tiberius' constant harrassment and died, either by his own hand or naturally. His country was turned into a Roman province and Tiberius announced that due to the increased revenue from the taxes of this new province, he was able to reduce the auction tax[3].

It is useful to mention at this point that Roman citizens paid no direct taxes, except the "tributum" (an income and property tax) in cases of extreme emergency, such as war. The entire financial burden of the empire was borne by the

1. Cp. Suetonius Augustus 49
2. Cp. Tacitus Annals ii, 42
3. Cp. Tacitus annals ii, 42

direct taxes of the provinces, and a number of indirect taxes. In fact Italians did not pay any direct taxes until AD 284 in the reign of Diocletian.

The tax was again raised to one percent in AD 31 by Tiberius, who was succeeded as emperor by Caligula on March 18, AD 37. Although there is no mention of it, the tax may have been reduced to ½% by Caligula before it was abolished by him in AD 38[4].

Mattingly states that in all probability the tax was later re-introduced. As far as I know there is no further mention of it. Nero contemplated abolishing all indirect taxes (which, by now, may have included the auction tax), but his council advised him against this.[5]

No mention is made of any emperor ever having tampered with the revenues of this tax, due in all probability to its connection with the army, to which they looked for support.

The obverse also has some historical connections. The pileus was thought by Eckhel to refer to the restoration, under Caligula, of the Comitia, which had been abolished by Tiberius. Caligula's revival of the electoral system in AD 38 gave the populace control over the magistrates, and thus the allusion to freedom by the liberty cap[6]. The people had not gained any real freedom as the comitia had been gradually losing its powers to the senate and the consuls since the later part of the republic.

There are actually four different types of these quardans, differing only in the combination of the Consular Tribunician powers.

1. TRP III, COS DES III — Mar. 18—Dec. 31 AD 39
2. TRP III, COS TERT (III) — Jan. 1—Mar. 18 AD 40
3. TRP IIII, COS TERT (III) — Mar. 18—Dec. 31 AD 40
4. TRP IIII, COS QUAT (IIII) — Jan. 1—Jan. 24 AD 41

The abbreviation DES (for DESIGNATUS) before "III" in the first legend implies that Caligula struck the piece while holding the Consulship for the second time, but already expecting the grant of his third Consulship on January 1st, AD 40. It must therefore have been struck after his having

4. Cp. Suetonius Caligula 16
5. Cp. Tacitus Annals xiii, 48
6. Cp. Suetonius Caligula 16

received the Tribunician power for the third time on January 1, AD 40[7].

These quadrans are true propaganda pieces. They commemorate two historical events of interest to Italians in particular. This would help to explain why they were struck exclusively at the Roman mint.

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7. Cp. Suetonius Caligula 17

THE OLD COIN

A massey lump of brass or bronze.
  Moulded by ponderous blow on blow,
For Nero or Vespasian's son
  In ages dim and long ago.

A cruel mouth, a swinish chin.
  A wolfish eye, almost erased:
But half the date—a victory—
  Two words, and those almost defaced.

Where is the golden palace now
  That on the Palatine arose?
Where are the statue-guarded doors?
  Where are the temple porticoes?

For discs of metal shaped like this,
  Swords have been drawn and Lethe crossed:
For this, in greedy hope, men's souls
  Have been by passion's tempest tossed.

This is Ambition's frail reward,
  This is a buried Caesar's fame:
Upon a lump of rusty bronze
  The two-thirds of a doubtful name!

(*American Journal of Numismatics*, August 1868, page 29, Vol. III, Number 4.)

THE AGORA AND THE FORUM

Any ACCA members stationed in Viet Nam are invited to stop by my quarters at 267 C Truong Minh Ky, Saigon, Room 301 C for coffee and talk any time after duty hours until my deros of 22 February. Who knows, if enough people show up, we may be able to start a Saigon ancient coin club.

Incidentally, if anyone would like a set of the current Vietnamese coinage, drop me a note. These are the 1.5 and 10 Dong coins and have a face value of about 15c. I'll try to pick the best specimens possible. By the way, the coin market here is vastly overpriced and there are large numbers of counterfeits around. Also, they have a bad habit of taking pot-shots at us tourists. Suggest you cross it off your travel list at present. S/Sgt. Paul Garner, CMR, Box 3235, APO San Francisco, California 96307.

It may be of interest to members of the ACCA to know that I recently acquired here in far-off Kabul a specimen of the Aegina silver stater coin (the early turtle rather than later tortoise) which is reported to have been part of a hoard of ancient pure Greek coins discovered near the historic site of Balkh (modern Mazar-i-Sharif) in northern Afghanistan. I was fortunate enough to be able to obtain seventeen other coins of this hoard, all different and all pre-Alexandrian. The circumstances suggest to me the intriguing possibility that they may have represented part of the personal collection of an ancient numismatist of Bactria, lost or buried in the face of some barbarian invasion at least two millenia ago. I naturally regard as auspicious the discovery of this Aegina turtle — the symbol of the ACCA — at the very time of my joining the Club.

William F. Spengler, Kabul, Afghanistan.

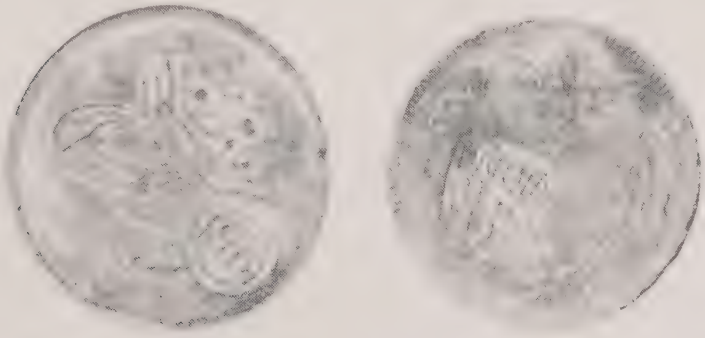
Turkish Coins Bearing Greek Countermarks
(UNKNOWN EMERGENCY ISSUES?)

C. C. Hadziotis

A few months ago a collector bought in Athens twelve Turkish copper coins bearing some peculiar countermarks. These coins were reported to have been found in the island of Lesbos, one of the largest in the Aegean and located near the coast of Asia Minor.

With a more detailed and careful scrutiny of these coins, it has been realized that no plausible numismatic interpretation of the countermarks could be given, considering that their significance and meaning were quite obscure. In fact, despite all efforts nobody succeeded in "reading and deciphering the unusual signs which are countermarked on these coins.

For a moment, it was supposed that when the Greek Army and Navy occupied the Islands of Aegean Sea during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, an emergency coinage was necessary to be issued until the substitution of the Turkish currency by the Greek one was realized by the Greek political authorities. In such a case, it was quite possible that the countermarked Turkish coins (which, as we have noted above, were reported as having been found in Lesbos) represented this emergency and provisional coinage.



Then, the author made two discoveries: a) By examining his collection of Turkish coins, he found among them a specimen countermarked by the monogram in Fig. 1. This coin was bought together with other Turkish coins, from a local dealer in Yannina, a city in Northern Greece.

If it is admitted that, this coin, too, was countermarked by the Greek Army and used as an emergency issue, then we must

assume that this way of issuing provisional coinage in occupied places, was not limited to only one island, but was generally used in all towns and districts liberated during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 by the advancing Hellenic Forces.

However, such an hypothesis cannot be accepted in view of the fact that it is impossible for a coinage used in so many various places to remain quite unknown for more than fifty years. b) Following a detailed inspection in all Athens dealers' stocks of Turkish coins, the author found and bought a Turkish coin countermarked with the inscription illustrated in Fig. 2. The meaning of this countermark is quite clear:

Figure 1

Figure 2

ΠΑΝΑΓΑ
ΘΑΣΩ
1893

Panaga (a probably blundered writing for *Panaghia*) is a small village in Thassos island, whose name appears in the dative on the second line of the countermark.

However, taking into consideration the date (1893) we are obliged, once again, to conclude that this coin, too, cannot have any connection with the Balkan Wars 1912-1913. It must also be noted that, at that date, the Island of Thassos was still under Ottoman rule and as far as the author knows, no revolution or other noteworthy event occured in the island in 1893. Thassos was liberated and joined to Greece during the Balkan Wars.

As it is not possible to obtain any satisfactory explanation for these strange countermarks, the only alternative would be to conclude that either these countermarked coins are counterfeits or the countermarks were stamped by individuals and had no connection to the coins as a legal currency.

The author is not prepared to accept either interpretation, for more than one reason: a) The above described coins cannot be counterfeits because all of them were bought at very low prices (approximately 50 cents per piece). The dealers who sold them had no idea of the countermarks and sold them as common Turkish pieces. Consequently, the suspicion of forgery for high profits must be rejected. b) But, it is also quite improbable that they had been countermarked by individuals, considering that during the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, the whole Ottoman Empire was a backward and undeveloped country. As a consequence, even the produc-

tion of a countermark was not an easy job for people living within this country. This is even more difficult and improbable if one takes into consideration the fact that there are several countermarks found on these coins. In fact, so far twelve different countermarks have been classified. We must, therefore, accept that such a large number of countermarks can only have their origin in an authority and not in an individual source.

These countermarked Turkish coins have, however, raised a problem and a satisfactory answer must be sought. The readers of the *NAIN* are invited to examine carefully their collection of Ottoman coinage and give their own opinions on these peculiar countermarks appearing on Turkish coins.

Before concluding, we would like to contribute with some additional notes: 1) Most of the above described countermarked Turkish coins have the following common features: They are of the same denomination, i.e. 40 paras copper coins.[2] Consequently, they are coins struck after the monetary restitution effected in 1844. More precisely, they were issued originally either under Abdul MEJID (1255 AH years 6-23 = 1844-1861), or under Abdul AZIZ (1277 AH = 1861 - 1876); which means that the countermarks on them could not have been stamped during the Independence War of 1821.[3] 2.) The countermarks are in *Greek Letters*. Therefore, it is quite natural to accept that they were not made by a Turkish authority. However, we must state, that in some of the coins that we have examined, there was noticed a second, and even, in a few cases, a third countersign (for example a cross) or even a Turkish letter. 3.) Several Greek soldiers and officers who participated in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were acquainted with this affair, but none of them could remember any emergency or provisional coinage having ever been struck by any political or military Greek authority.

The puzzle seems to be extremely complicated and difficult to solve. Can any satisfactory explanation be given? We will have to wait for it.

NOTES

1 A second specimen bearing the same countermark but without the date 1893 exists in the collection of an Athenian numismatist.

2 There are, also, a few pieces of 20 and 10 paras.

3 The only Turkish coins reported to date to have been countermarked by a Greek authority, were the gold mahmudiye circulating in Peloponn-

nessos during the Independence War. But the purpose of this countermark was only for guaranteeing the genuineness of the coin, not for political reasons. In fact, as there was a large volume of forgeries, particularly in Tripolitza (one of the largest cities of Peloponnessos), the Provisional Government issued on May 4, 1823 Decree No. 192 reading as follows:

Provisional Administration of Greece
The Executive Corp

Taking under consideration that many counterfeiters did strike and still keep striking a big number of coins of the type known as mahmudiye and, consequently, several difficulties arose in the exchanges.

orders

a) A proclamation to be issued, by which all authorities will be informed that from now on the mahmudiye and the half-mahmudiye are considered as no more if they do not bear the stamp of the ad hoc competent by the Government inspectors.

b) Two experienced inspectors shall be entrusted, to use a very small stamp with which they will stamp those mahmudiyes in circulation found to have the regular for such type of coinage weight of gold. The mahmudiyes, which will be presented for testing to these inspectors, in case they are counterfeit must be cut in pieces, while those which are found to be genuine will be countermarked by this stamp and returned to their owners for using them in the exchanges.

The Ministers of Interior and Finances are charged to put in force the present Decree.

Done in Tripolitza on May 4, 1823

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BOOK REVIEWS

Fagerlie, Joan M., LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE SOLIDI FOUND IN SWEDEN AND DENMARK, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* #157. American Numismatic Society, New York, 1967. 213 pp. + 33 plates.

Most medievalists are at least acquainted with the huge volume of overland trade between Scandinavia and Constantinople during the ninth and tenth centuries. The coin finds, artifacts and isolated literary references have all substantiated the fact of Viking-Byzantine contact and the routes which such contact followed.

Much more puzzling is the evidence of Scandinavian contact with Constantinople and the Roman Empire during the late fourth and fifth centuries. Coin hoards of solidi from these periods found in the Baltic islands and nearby indicate considerable movement between the remote north and the empire. The nature of the contact, the reasons for it, what material flowed southward to justify the movement of gold to the far north, and why this contact apparently ceased after Justinian are all problems which have perplexed two generations of archaeologists.

This monograph, a publication of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, attempts to approach the question solely from the evidence which can be adduced from the coins themselves, and after stating the problem in general terms, attempts to suggest paths which future researchers might explore with the evidence of the coins laid out clearly before them.

Miss Fagerlie introduces the problem of north-south contact and its implications and questions. She then proposes to analyze and catalog all coins which have been recovered in the northern regions. The analysis of the coins in connection with the catalog is complete, thorough and in the best methods of modern critical handling. The internal evidence which can be inferred from die-links, die positions, die varieties, style and execution, place of mintage and so forth are all carefully laid out as well as the usual weights and metrological data.

The author then turns her attention to a critique of proposed solutions which have been advanced by scholars who have addressed themselves to the problem. After stating the various factors which have been considered and discussed, she then offers some conclusions which the coin evidence seems either

to substantiate or refute the previous hypotheses.

The period with which the author is dealing is a difficult one. Literary sources are scant and incomplete. During this time epigraphical material was being destroyed rather than created, and for many conclusions which have been drawn about the fifth century, the coins are often the only, if certainly unsatisfactory, remaining evidence. Any work which endeavors to enlighten our most limited knowledge of this period must be hailed as important and significant.

The care which the author has lavished on this work, the detached and scientific manner she has demonstrated in laying out and dealing with her evidence bid fair to make this monograph a most significant contribution to the limited literature which we possess of this dark but intriguing age.

JOHN E. HARTMANN

Numismatic Chronicle: Series VII: Vol. V. The Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1965.

The latest *Chronicle* has a rather rich and varied feast of material not often discussed in the numismatic press.

GREEK COINS: May, J.M.F., "The Coinage of Dikaia-by-Abdera;" "The Coinage of Maroneia;" Pearlman, S., "The Coins of Philip II and Alexander the Great and Their Pan-Hellenic Propaganda."

THE ANCIENT ORIENT: Bivar, A.D.H., "Indo-Bactrian Problems;" Mukherjee, B.N., "The Location of a Mint of the Azes Dynasty;" Sellwood, D.G., "Wroth's Unknown Parthian King;" MacDowell, David W., "The Dynasty of the Later Indo-Parthians."

ROMAN COINS: Crawford, M.H., "N. Fabi Pictor:" Hill, Philip V., "Some Architectural Types of Trajan:" Boon, George C., "Light-Weights and Limesfalsa:" Reece, Richard, "Analyses of Some Roman Imperial Denarii of the Second and Early Third Centuries:" Carson, R.A.G., "Springhead, Gravesend Roman Imperial Treasure Trove."

BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL: Grierson, Philip, "The Copper Coinage of Leo III and Constantine V:" Dolley, R.H.M., "A Spurious Hoard of Northumbrian Copper Coins From Bath Master Percival De Porche of Luk-Italian or Liegeois?:" Mukherjee, B.N., "The Dates on Two Silver Coins of Toramana;" Mitchell, Helen W., "A Hoard of Dirhems from Ardekan:" Lowick, N.M., "Coins of Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan:" Sperber, Daniel, "Islamic Metrology from Jewish Sources:" "Harold Mattingly" (his *curriculum vitae* and *memorium*): Grierson, Philip, "The President's Ad-

dress: The Interpretation of Coin Finds:" "John Walker" (his *curriculum vitae* and *memorium*).

Editor's note: Appearance of this list of contents of the *VC* for 1965 does not preclude the possibility of review of individual articles in the *Turtle* at a future date: Lack of time and editorial assistance prevents the publication of abstracts at this time. Readers are invited to submit brief reviews and/or abstracts of articles for inclusion in later issues of the *NAJN*.

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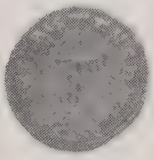

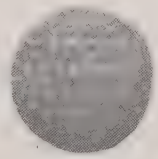

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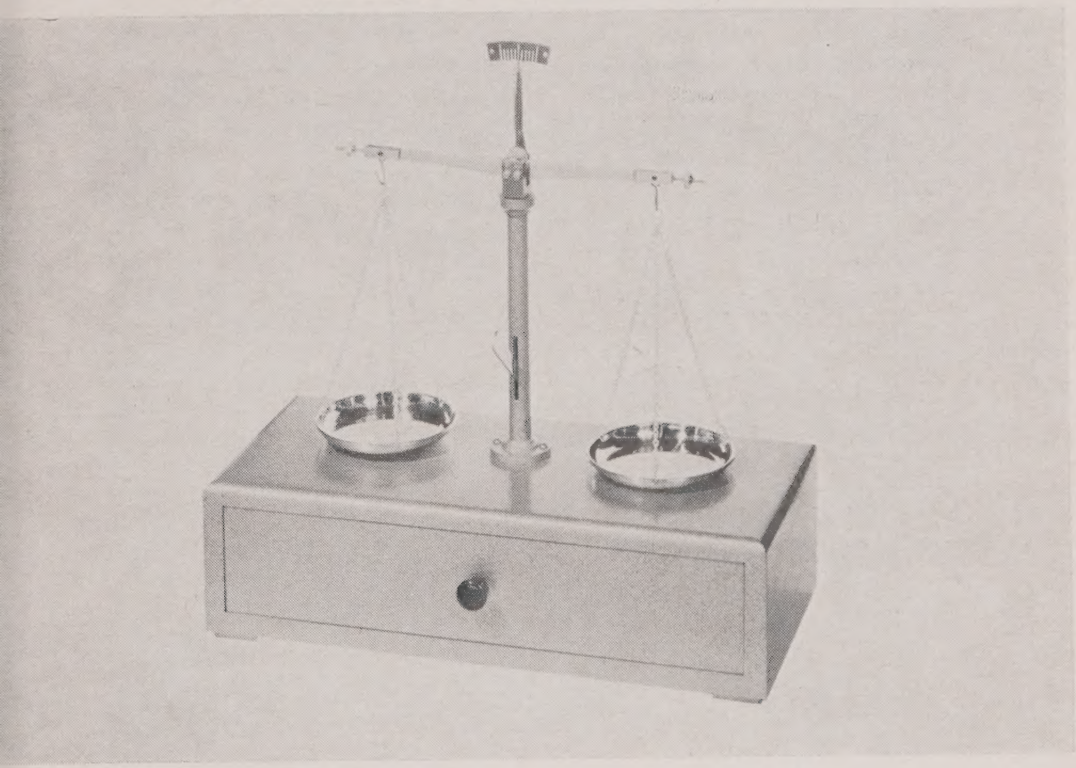

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